

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 094354 TOSEC 100065

FOLLOWING IS REPEAT LUSAKA 973, SENT SECSTATE, DAR ES SALAAM,  
GABORONE, MAPUTO, PRETORIA, CAPE TOWN, APRIL 19:

QUOTE S E C R E T LUSAKA 973

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR ZA RH

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO ZAMBIA: MEETING WITH AMERICAN  
AMBASSADORS

REF: LUSAKA 953

1. IF IT PROVES IMPOSSIBLE FOR PRESIDENTS MACHEL AND  
KHAMA TO MEET WITH SECY DURING HIS AFRICAN TRIP, ANOTHER  
SUGGESTION TO LINK UP IN A SPECIAL WAY WITH THESE TWO  
FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, IF IT APPEALS TO SECY, IS FOR  
AMERICAN AMBASSADORS TO MAPUTO AND GABORONE TO MEET WITH  
SECY IN ZAMBIA, PREFERABLY AT LIVINGSTONE AND POSSIBLY  
ALSO WITH OUR AMBASSADOR FROM PRETORIA/CAPE TOWN.

2. MAJOR PURPOSE FOR CONVOKING SUCH A REUNION WOULD BE  
TO GIVE SECY OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE BRIEF PUBLIC STATEMENT  
AT VICTORIA FALLS WHICH WOULD POINT UP SPECIAL MESSAGES  
HE SENDING TO MACHEL AND KHAMA (PARA 4 BELOW) AND IF SECY  
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WISHES, MESSAGES AS WELL TO SMITH AND VORSTER. SITE OF

VICTORIAL FALLS AT LIVINGSTONE WOULD VIVIDLY RECALL ABORTED TALKS THERE IN AUGUST OF LAST YEAR WHICH REPRESENTED MAJOR EFFORT BY AFRICANS THEMSELVES TO REACH PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. WE WOULD HOPE TO USE SECY'S VISIT TO FALLS TO REKINDLE HOPE THAT A NEW SEARCH FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT STILL HAS A CHANCE.

3. PRESENCE OF SECY AT VICTORIA FALLS WITH AMERICAN AMBASSADORS FROM MAPUTO AND GABORONE ALSO IN ATTENDANCE WOULD BE MAINLY CEREMONIAL TO DRAW ATTENTION TO MOZAMBIQUE AND BOTSWANA AND THEIR SPECIAL GEOGRAPHIC RELATION TO RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. IT WOULD ALSO FLAG FACT US CONCERNED WITH INDIVIDUAL ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF ALL FOUR FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS AS WELL AS SOUTH AFRICAN PREMIER IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN DRAMA, ALSO THAT US WANTS TO DEMONSTRATE THIS CONCERN PUBLICLY.

4. IN HIS BRIEF STATEMENT BEFORE WORLD PRESS REPS AT VICTORIA FALLS, SECY COULD: REGRET HIS INABILITY TO MEET WITH MACHEL AND KHAMA; EXPRESS ADMIRATION FOR EFFORTS THEY MAKING TOWARD LIBERATION AND ACHIEVEMENT OF MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA; NOTE HIGH PRICES THEY PAYING IN TERMS OF THEIR OWN ECONOMIC STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT; ADDITIONALLY HE COULD POINT UP US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO BOTSWANA AND MOZAMBIQUE (PAST AND FUTURE) AND NOTE SPECIAL MESSAGES BEING CONVEYED TO TWO PRESIDENTS THROUGH AMERICAN AMBASSADORS TO THESE COUNTRIES WHO WITH HIM AT FALLS.

6. MESSAGE TO VORSTER COULD POINT UP KEY ROLE SOUTH AFRICA MUST PLAY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, APPLAUD EARLIER SAG DECISION TO WITHDRAW TROOPS FROM RHODESIA AND ANGOLA, NOTE TREMENDOUS INFLUENCE FOR GOOD, INCLUDING SOCIAL JUSTICE, INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE WHICH SOUTH AFRICA COULD BRING TO BEAR ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA; FACT THAT ENTIRE WORLD LOOKING TO SOUTH AFRICA TO MAKE RIGHT DECISIONS WITH REGARD TO FUTURE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THESE TWO TROUBLED AREAS. IF DEPT CONSIDERS APPROPRIATE, WARNING COULD BE ISSUED IMPLICITLY DIRECTED AT SAG BUT LEFT AMBIGUOUS THAT INTERVENTION OF ANY ONE FOREIGN POWER FROM AFRICAN CONTINENT OR FROM OUTSIDE WOULD BE SEEN BY OTHER FOREIGN POWERS AS INVITATION TO FOLLOW SUIT. THUS,  
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OPPORTUNITY TO "LOCALIZE" SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEM, WHICH VORSTER PROMISED KAUNDA, MIGHT BE IRRETRIEVABLY LOST.

7. SECY'S MESSAGE TO SMITH (TRADITIONAL FOR VIPS AT FALLS) AND DELIVERED THROUGH MEDIUM OF WORLD PRESS COULD TELL HIM HE BEARS MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY WHEN HISTORY OF LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WRITTEN. SMITH HAS IT WITHIN HIS EXCLUSIVE POWER TO PREVENT BLOODSHED IN RHODESIA IN INEVITABLE TRANSITION

TO MAJORITY RULE. US HOLDS HIM RESPONSIBLE, SO WILL WORLD  
OPINION. US LOOKING FOR EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO AVOID BLOODSHED  
AND FIND WAY TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. SECY COULD RECOGNIZE REAL  
AND VALUABLE FOUNDATIONS OF NON-RACIALISM WHICH WE  
APPRECIATE ALREADY EXIST IN RHODESIA; COULD POINT OUT  
THAT THESE WOULD BE WIPED AWAY IN ESCALATION OF ARMED  
STRUGGLE. AS ZIMBABWE LIBERATION ARMY MOVES TO CRUSH  
MINORITY RULE, THEY WILL INEVITABLY WIPE OUT THESE GOOD NON-  
RACIAL HUMAN RELATIONS BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES IN  
RHODESIA. THERE IS ALSO RISK THAT ESCALATED WARFARE  
CARRIES ADDED DANGER THAT MILITARY REGIME WOULD TAKE OVER FROM  
WHITE MINORITY RULE. AN ENRAGED BLACK ZIMBABWE ARMY  
WOULD BE EXPECTED TO HAVE LITTLE TASTE OR DISPOSITION  
FOR CULTIVATING NON-RACIALISM AS KNOWN TODAY IN RHODESIA.  
UNDER SUCH A GLOOMY SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES PROSPECTS FOR  
STABILITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WOULD BE POOR INDEED AND A  
MAJOR CONCERN TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES SUCH AS MOZAMBIQUE  
AND BOTSWANA.

8. AMBASSADORS AT ADDRESSEE POSTS WILL SURELY WISH COMMENT  
ON MEETING AND SUGGESTED MESSAGES, SHOULD  
PROPOSAL APPEAL TO SECY, AND TO OFFER THEIR IDEAS ON POINTS WHICH  
SHOULD BE MADE OR DROPPED.

9. IN SUGGESTING THAT AMERICAN AMBASSADORS COME TO ZAMBIA  
DURING SECY'S VISIT WE REALIZE ADDITIONAL STRAINS WOULD BE  
PUT ON OUR ALREADY BELEAGUERED ADMINISTRATIVE RESOURCES AT  
THIS POST. BUT WE FEEL THE OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED COULD GIVE  
ADDED DIMENSION TO SECY'S VISIT BY PROVIDING HIM WITH SPECIAL,  
HIGH-PROFILE OPPORTUNITY TO SHOW THAT HE HAS NOT  
OVERLOOKED OR BYPASSED TWO OF THE FOUR FRONT-LINE  
PRESIDENTS IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN SITUATION, AS WELL  
AS TO DELIVER SPECIAL PUBLIC MESSAGES TO VORSTER AND SMITH.

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10. THUS IF THIS PROPOSAL IS ACCEPTABLE, WE ARE SURE  
OUR COLLEAGUES WOULD UNDERSTAND IF THEY WERE ASKED TO  
ROUGH IT A BIT AND TAKE POT LUCK AT LUSAKA.  
WILKOWSKI UNQUOTE. ROBINSON

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